

# PRIMITIVE MAN

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# PRIMITIVE MAN

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## NOTES ON CHIRICAHUA APACHE CULTURE

### 1. SUPERNATURAL POWER AND THE SHAMAN<sup>1</sup>

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THE basic concept of Chiricahua religion is that of diffuse supernatural power. This force floods the universe and renders even ostensibly inanimate objects potentially animate. However, in order to become effective, it must "work through" humankind. Its method is to utilize the animals, plants, natural forces, and inanimate objects familiar to the Chiricahua, as channels by means of which to get in contact with man. After this contact has been made, the power appears in personified guise and offers a ceremony or supernatural aid to the person approached. The variety of channels through which supernatural power can "speak" to the Chiricahua is suggested in these quotations from informants:

<sup>1</sup> These notes are an organization of source material which limitations of space made it impossible to include in the writer's Chiricahua ethnology, *An Apache Life-Way*, Chicago, 1941. It is hoped that they will add detail, nuance, and example to the data of that volume. While this article and others to follow in this series are written to be read as separate contributions, for the benefit of students of the Indians of the Southwest or those who wish to find additional material relating to the same general topics, cross-references to pages of the *Life-Way* on which comparable information appears are given in parentheses at the conclusion of a discussion of a point.

A real shaman is one who considers that something talks to him, that he has a ceremony through sun, moon, star, lightning, or cyclone. I hear many say this. I said to one woman, "I hear you are a shaman." "Yes," she said, "the horse gives me power to do supernatural things. The one who speaks to me, the horse, lays down the rules." Some people, when they say "the one who speaks to me," may be talking of the spider, the deer, or the coyote. Geronimo sang coyote songs and had curing power from Coyote.

Power is obtained from all the different animals and birds, from the coyote, cattle, horse, and other things. They all have songs and they all have ceremonies. The Chiricahua get power from Crow, Eagle, Humming Bird, Cardinal, and other birds too. They used to say that power talked to them all the time, but you don't hear that so much now. Wolf power makes you strong. Bear power makes you strong too. Some get power from the sun and moon also. When you get it from these you can see all over the world, they say. These shine on everything in the world; that's why. And Morning Star and Evening Star are great things too, they say.

In the old times there were those who believed they had power from the stars, moon, sun, wind, and clouds. Many believed that these are the best source of power. People can get power from the whirlwind too; the whirlwind has life. All these things are prayed to, and pollen is thrown to them by those who know them. All the stars that are recognized are thought of as personalities, embodying someone who has supernatural power.

A person can get power from the snake, deer, eagle, hawks, and insects with a stinger. Power also comes from the sun, moon, stars, wind, thunder, and Mountain People, and even from small animals and bugs and ants.

Power can come from lightning, thunder, horse, bear, fox, snake, wind, sun, star, rain, Water Monster, Controller of Water, eagle, crow, insects, owl, and everything you can think of.

Sometimes the power takes the form of an animal . . . a horse, a deer, an antelope, a bear, or any other animal that has four legs, such as a coyote. The deer has life; the horse has life . . .

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 200-207.)

Supernatural power, at least supernatural power of the beneficent kind, may offer those to whom it appears a means of curing the sick, of exposing sorcerers, of finding lost objects, of determining the whereabouts of the enemy, or of succeeding in ventures of warfare, raid, and the hunt. In other words, Chiricahua religion is practical rather than mystical in its primary aims. It is concerned with physical well-being, material abundance, and safety rather than with salvation or morality. This does not mean that the Chiricahua Apache are indifferent to standards of conduct. They have a well-defined moral code and many of its provisions are strict and lofty. Their method of maintaining it, however, is through social understandings, sanctions, and public opinion rather than by reference to religion. Man's blunders in personal or social relations may be remiss and reprehensible but they are not often considered the concern of the supernaturals.

One day a missionary gave a talk on temperance. He said it was a sin to eat too much or to drink too much. The Chiricahua gathered together after the sermon and talked. They were saying, "What's the matter with that fellow? What's he talking about?" There is nothing in our religion that has this idea. They couldn't understand it.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 214-216.)

The reality for the Chiricahua of supernatural power or of the vision experience which ends in the acquisition of a ceremony must not be underestimated. Even the younger person who is today rather indifferent about obtaining a ceremony or a guardian spirit for himself is positive about the validity of the experiences of the older, more religiously motivated generation.

These men really have power. Take my father: he's an old man now and they are taking care of him at the hospital, but he did a lot of good in his day. Men like that really see things. They don't just imagine it. The animals and powers come

right up to them and talk. You and I can't see it or hear it, but they can. Like in one ceremony I saw: the shaman said in one place, "Everything is light. I see a big light." He saw it, but it was a pitch-dark night, and we couldn't see a thing.

The Chiricahua, like all people who have developed a religious system, have had, in spite of the religious safeguards which they affirm, to recognize the existence of failure, danger, death, and evil. They account for them by a theory of the plasticity and duality of power. Thus hateful individuals may employ complacent power for malevolent rather than kindly ends. Or the personified source of the power may itself be represented as malicious and may lead weak-willed shamans into dubious practices by deceit, threats, and promises. Therefore it is necessary to be constantly wary of cleverly veiled evil power (sorcery) and of ceremonialists (witches) who are not above using their rituals to harm, betray, or cause illness. Consequently, a substantial part of Chiricahua ceremonialism, perhaps its most dramatic aspect, is the contest with supernatural power between the shamans and the sorcerers. Sometimes a shaman who controls one type of supernatural power, who has been granted a ceremony from a natural force or a heavenly body, for instance, may be suspicious of rituals from contrasting sources, such as the animals of the earth. These views are exemplified in the excerpts which follow:

I came to know that power is not good or bad of itself. It is just power. It can be used for good or evil. It all depends on the person who has it. Look at the power from the Mountain People. (The Mountain People are mountain-dwelling supernaturals who guard the Chiricahua and their territory from harm. They are impersonated by masked dancers.) The Mountain People are good. They help the Chiricahua. We have them at the girl's puberty rite. But they can, to the Chiricahua mind, be used for evil too. A good many people think X. is a witch and uses Mountain Spirit power for evil. A good many people will not go through that Mountain Spirit ceremony of his. When it is going on, they get pretty far in the back; they are taking no chances. But there are others who think it is all right, who go through with it and consider X. a shaman.

There are many kinds of ceremonies, but the real ceremonies are those which deal with the heavenly bodies and forces, like lightning. Ceremonies that pertain to this earth are false, and there is too much of a penalty in holding on to them. They make you pay out something in the end. I consider all ceremonies like those coming from Bear and Horse to be of this earth. Evil power uses the animal as an instrument and gives visions through it. To have an animal appear to a man and speak with him is not a good way. I think that evil represents itself through these animals. The powers of earth are easily learned by any kind of a person; these powers are not particular.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 208-9.)

Power can be obtained through a personal supernatural experience or, once obtained in this way, it can be perpetuated by the process of instruction and transfer.

A person who wants power does not have to go out alone, fast, or torture himself to induce the power to speak to him. The power speaks to him without any effort on his part. Or this person might ask a shaman to teach him his ceremony. He may get friendly with a shaman and then ask him if he will teach him his songs. Then the shaman "gives" him the songs and prayers. Or someone with power may offer to teach that power to him. These are the three common ways a man might get power.

The transfer of a ceremony is by no means a mechanical matter only. It can be accomplished only with the approval and assistance of the power source concerned.

A ceremony is usually transferred to a son, daughter, or other close relative. But the power has to be consulted before the transfer of a ceremony. If power is satisfied, it is all right. If the person isn't fit for it, the power refuses. This is shown by the fact that the man cannot learn the songs and keep in mind what to do. If the power is willing to have the transfer made, the man will learn the ceremony in less than four days.

Often a shaman, when he is very old, becomes eager to have his

son or other close relative learn and carry on his ritual. Not infrequently, however, these kinsmen are uninterested in the rite, and a more ardent candidate is found among outsiders.

My father has been begging my brother to take it (the father's ceremony). My brother has been taking it (over) a little; he has been practicing with the old man and helping him. The old man begged E. (another son) and me to do it too. . . . The old man wants us to take over his ceremony. He said to us, "I want you boys to have it. All you'll have to give me is one steer. I paid a lot more for it when I got it myself."

I tried to give it (a masked dancer ceremony) to my grandsons, but they didn't want it. They didn't care much for it. Then E. was sick. He appealed to me for help. He asked if the Mountain Spirits could help him in any way. I told him, "Act as one of my masked dancers and perhaps it will help you." He danced and got well. Then later Mountain Spirits appeared to E. in a dream. They were dressed and designed like my masked dancers. He told me about it. I knew what it was for. I told him, "Well, you can use the outfits with me and carry the ceremony on." Then E. saw in a vision that the Mountain People wanted him to have the ceremony, so I turned it over to him. He took it very seriously. He now knows the songs and has the right to carry on the ceremony. It took him four days to learn it. He learned the songs thoroughly again in a dream after he was taught them by me. He has full rights now. Both he and I have the (masked dancer) outfits now; both of us use them. We do not make two sets of masked dancers but share in the making of one set. But he could do it all alone now. I do not even have to be present.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 210-11.)

When a ceremony is acquired through a personal supernatural experience, it is the power or power source that usually takes the initiative, though the individual approached has the right to reject the offer if he sees fit. This is apparent from the following discussion of the manner in which a young man is prepared for a vision experience.

Perhaps some day you will be out alone. Something will talk to



you. If you see that it is a real power, take it. If it is earthly and little, don't take it. It will be of great use to you if it is a real power.

The instructor will try to make him see how to tell what is great and what is little. He will say, "Such a power spoke to me when I was young, but it was nothing; I did not take it. But another power spoke to me and it was great." Yet the young man has to decide for himself whether a power is worth while when he hears something, for nobody can tell for another person whether what has spoken to him has worthwhile power or not.

Nor can a power grant be induced by desire or special modes of action. The ways of power and its reasons for preferring some of the persons it approaches are sometimes inexplicable.

It's just like this. There is an English-speaking Indian here. He grows long hair and tries to live the way we did in the old days. He has been carrying turquoise around and everything. He wants to be a big man in ceremonies, that's why. But he doesn't amount to anything.

We can't do anything about it by ourselves, you and I. We might not believe what some others claim about their experiences. We might be sitting here saying, "It's all a lie." Then a spirit might talk to us. Then we'd believe. We'd say, "Well, it happened all right." And we'd have to believe it. We might not believe some man who claims that something spoke to him, and he might be telling the truth. You've got to watch and see which man's power is good.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 202-3.)

Once an understanding is achieved between a power source and a shaman, the Chiricahua derives many benefits. One of these advantages is that the power often acts as a guardian spirit to warn of dangers or to advise concerning undertakings. A shaman seldom initiates anything important without praying and singing to his power and waiting for a sign or a response. This, for example, is the pledge a power source made to a shaman at the time their association began:

"Live around here. I will be around here with your daughter. One day when you go to war I will be by your side, but you won't see me. If you see a crow fly, it will be I. If you see a coyote, it will be I. If you want to go to war or on a raid, come here first and even if I am not here, talk, and I will be here. Tell me where you are going and ask my advice. Go home. The next day I will draw a picture of what you will get. I will draw deer tracks, horse tracks, and show where you are going to get them. If you see cattle or horse tracks, it means you will get plenty."

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 214.)

Immunity from some of the ordinary perils is another of the benefits which usually accompanies shamanism.

Some men use hawk feathers for arrows, but some are afraid. You have to know power to do it. Only a hawk shaman would do it. It's the same with the buzzard. Not everybody could use the feathers. Formerly the Chiricahua could get very sick from the buzzard.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 214.)

The principal function and attribute of the possessor of a power grant, however, is to cure sickness, and the Chiricahua who is able to practice an effective curing ceremony earns respect and even riches.

When I was a boy, a good shaman was highly respected. These are the ones who are known to have kind hearts and that nobody calls witches. A good shaman is wealthy, for he's out curing and everybody gives him something for his cures.

If sickness strikes and special knowledge and ceremony are required, a shaman is hired. It is accepted that he or one of his fellow ceremonialists will, through the cooperation of supernatural power, learn the cause of the difficulty and the proper course of action. The service of supernatural power may range from producing a simple herbal remedy to revealing the identity of a sorcerer.

When anybody gets sick, they dig up herbs and give them to him. If he doesn't get better, they get a shaman to sing for him. If this doesn't help, they get a wiser man and he finds out what is really wrong; he gets a vision of what medicine is needed, and he tells the family to go out and get the right herbs. If he sees a witch in his vision, they bring the witch to cure the man.

How two shamans who had power from the same source and were jointly conducting a rite discovered the proper medicine to give a patient is told in one narrative.

They had to find out what was best to give to the one who was sick. So they performed their ceremony in this way. They put buckskin, white as snow, before them. Then they held feathers and said, "Now listen, all of you. We have asked what it is best to use. Listen and listen and wait and wait, and you will hear something coming; you will hear something falling." Then we heard it on the roof, and it dropped on the buckskin before them. "Now here's your medicine," they said. Then they asked their power how to give it, whether it should be ground up or what. They found this out from their power too. But I saw them fail in many cases too. I don't know why. It looks as though they should have been able to cure any disease, being as strong as that. But they failed sometimes. Maybe they gave up purposely.

The belated attempt of one of these same practitioners to find a remedy which would stem an epidemic of influenza is described in another account.

Now he sang songs about different medicines. He sang about one herb and then another. There was no sign that any of these would help. Then he started on the trees. He got to juniper. Then he stopped. His power had showed him that juniper was good. "What kind of juniper?" he asked. His power told him to name the junipers. "Alligator bark juniper?" he asked. "No." "Rock juniper?" It was not right either. "One-seeded juniper?" "You've got it," said his power. He started another song. Right at the beginning he stopped. He nodded. "There are four," he said, "'slim medicine' (*Perezia wrightii*), sumac, piñon, and one-seeded juniper. The roots of the first two can be used and the needles of the last two.

Use these and it won't hurt you." But death was around already and he didn't sing any more. My family got busy. We pounded up a whole sack of the needles of the one-seeded juniper, and others did it too.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 223.)

Usually, however, it is enough if the shaman simply performs his ceremony as he has learned it from his power source; if he chants his prayers, sings his songs, and manipulates his sacred substances in the correct manner he may expect that the power source will be gratified and will intercede to restore the patient to health.

P. went to see this boy who was a lunatic. They had to catch the boy every afternoon, for he had a fit and was a danger. After praying, P. made the cross and put pollen in the boy's mouth. When he started, the boy was tied hand and foot to the bed. P. sang the songs for him. After he had finished his ceremony, the boy was all right. He works now and is still well.

The shaman feels the importance of his position and must protect the dignity of his power source as well. Therefore his services must be requested humbly and in a prescribed manner.

When you need the help of a shaman you call his name (the personal name is used only in emergencies), plead with him, and put a cross of pollen on his foot. Then there is no question about it; he must help you.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 258.)

A successful shaman is paid liberally at the conclusion of a cure, but even before a rite may begin, ceremonial payment to the power source must be made.

His power always requires special things for a shaman to cure with, and you must have these ready. If you don't know what these are and don't want to ask him (some shamans don't like to say anything about what you must pay them), you must go to someone he has cured to find out what to give him when

he comes. These articles have to be given to the shaman if the cure is to be a success. They are given before the ceremony really gets started. Pollen, turquoise, abalone, feathers, white shells, and a black-handled knife are among the objects which may be needed.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 259.)

Whether or not he expects all of them as ceremonial payment, the shaman has a variety of ritual paraphernalia and substances on hand to be used in the ceremony: some combination of pollen, eagle feathers, abalone, turquoise, unblemished buckskin, animal parts, baskets, designed clothing, specular iron ore, a carved and designed cane or staff, yellow ochre, various other paints, plants, and medicines. The attitude toward some of these sacred substances and objects and the manner in which they are used are detailed thus by informants:

In my ceremony I use tule pollen at sunrise. The next night I use piñon pollen. The third morning at sunrise I use pollen from pine. The fourth day at noon I use sunflower pollen. All shamans use pollen. It stands for life and health. In a ceremony I saw Geronimo perform, he used pollen to make signs to the directions and then put the pollen in the sick man's mouth. He made crosses of pollen on the man's head, chest, right shoulder, back, and left shoulder.

Abalone has life. It has lots of good. Everything good is in it. Many shamans use it. Many of them say that without it they cannot carry on their ceremonies. When it is real blue inside it is male. This is the most powerful kind. When it is not the good color, when it is greyish, it is female. For my ceremony I polish the outside and use the scrapings for medicine. It is good for any kind of pain anywhere. It is also a protection against witches. I put some in medicine to cure lightning sickness too.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that while abalone shell contrasts with turquoise, the representative of the male principle in Chiricahua religion, and stands for the female principle, abalone which is bluish inside is called "male" and abalone which is pinkish or whitish is termed "female." Evidently the alternation in both instances is due to a color-sex association, blue for male and a light color (pink, white, grey) for female.

These staffs figure in ceremonies. The shaman is directed how to make them by his power. They may be decorated with feathers or with something pertaining to the ceremony of the one who makes it, perhaps a snake or lightning. They vary in size.

A shaman can hear from the power through the turquoise and feather. When the shaman prays he uses the feather. If the feather raises itself, he knows the prayer is heard. If the turquoise moves, it is the same.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 260-61.)

The shaman makes certain that any spectators at the ceremony he conducts are reverent and well-behaved. Not infrequently there are special obligations which remind the on-looker of the solemnity of the occasion. About these insistences, a younger, socially-minded Chiricahua explained:

It was pretty hard for us younger people to attend. There are always restrictions on everyone who is there. For some ceremonies you can't leave before it is all over for that evening; for some you can't sleep. So we didn't care so much to be at these curing ceremonies. But we always went to the girl's puberty rite, for you could always have a good time there.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 259.)

The source of power, speaking through the shaman, usually places some food or behavior restriction on the patient. Failure to observe this is construed as carelessness or levity in respect to the rite and is likely to lead to a relapse. Many of the failures to cure permanently are explained in this way. Some of the most common post-ritual restrictions are summarized in these statements:

The shaman has his reasons. He doesn't always tell the patients why, but he tells them to keep the paint (which has been applied during the ceremony) on for so many days before taking it off.

When a shaman finishes a curing ceremony over you, he gives you directions about things that you must not do or eat. . . . Restrictions that I have seen put on people are these: the person must not let anyone stand to the east of him; he must not let anyone cast a shadow on him; he must not eat meat from a cow's head; he must not eat liver; he must not eat bacon; if someone gives him a piece of fruit and it drops, he must not pick it up again and eat it.

If you are sick the shaman might tell you, "Don't let anyone stand to the east of you, in the way of the sun." Then you don't like it and tell anyone doing it to sit down. Some have a restriction that no one can stand over them; others that no one can stretch out his feet before them.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 265-266.)

From what has already been described it is evident that, in the view of the Chiricahua Apache, the usefulness and success of the shaman are directly related to the rapport he establishes with the power which has chosen to "work through him." If his power is somehow alienated or angered, the ceremonialist will pray and sing his sacred songs in vain. Therefore a Chiricahua is extremely circumspect when referring to his power. An informant expressed some wonder that "the white man in his swearing uses things and people that he says he believes in and calls holy. When a Chiricahua swears, he mentions only things he fears and hates." In making decisions which involve his ceremony a shaman's power must be consulted. This is vividly revealed in the musings of the shaman who had misgivings over discussing details of ceremonial lore.

It is a big thing to me. I'm afraid of it. Something is holding me back. I might put myself in trouble with the power . . . and today I feel that the power is holding on. I feel in my heart and mind that something is holding me back. I'm afraid. Tonight I am going to sing to my power. I am going to ask about the things that I have given (told) you. "Is it right to do that?" I am going to ask my power. I don't know what you are going to do with this (information) but Power will tell



me about it. So tonight I will sing and talk to my power to find out whether it is all right to go on with it.

The lightest punishment for somehow offending the source of power is the loss of its cooperation and the voiding of the ceremony. Some Chiricahua fear misfortune and persecution by the power, in addition.

A person keeps his power by obeying his power source, by not leaving out anything. It is just as if you had men working under you; you like the man who does everything just so, but you turn out the man who doesn't carry out everything as you direct. If the mistake is not made intentionally the shaman and members of his family are not in danger, though.

When they have a ceremony, they always have to do it exactly right, and when they don't do it right, there is sickness or death in the family. I have noticed that if the rules are not followed just so, trouble comes,—a death or something. Power takes one of their family. That is why some people reject power when it is offered and want to remain as they are. There is a big penalty for not doing exactly what is laid down. If a shaman makes mistakes, says the prayers wrong, or something like that, he must repeat them.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 207-10.)

Normally, however, the Chiricahua shaman views his close association with his power source in a positive light. It provides him with a basis for appealing to supernatural power in time of emergency, for pleading with power, cajoling it, and even scolding it for non-performance of duty when it fails to heal or help.



## THE HORSE IN THE LIFE OF THE ORDOS MONGOLS

JOSEPH KLER, C.I.C.M.

Ordos, Inner Mongolia

THE Mongol of the Ordos Desert, Inner Mongolia, loves his horses like children. He takes care of them, just as the Arabs do, as though they were good friends or members of the family; and he will never hit his good *tjiroo mori*, ambling (riding) horse. No people on earth knows the anatomy and physiology of the horse better than does the Mongol and consequently he is a good veterinarian. The ordinary individual has horses in groups consisting of a stallion and six to eight mares which live freely on the wide plain and which he waters every day. He usually has in addition a particular riding horse, as well as one for his wife and one for each of his children. These one can often see saddled and grazing in front of the door or in the *biltsjigir*, meadow.

It is not uncommon, however, to see thousands of horses,—for example the royal *cheptel*, or herds belonging to lamaistic monasteries,—living on the high plateau and, if one is needed, it is caught with the *örgö*, lasso, just as is done by the gauchos of the Argentine. On such plateaux without natural water, for instance between the royal palace of Otok and the Yellow River, there used to be very large herds which were accustomed to get along occasionally for several days without water. I have seen them traveling slowly, grazing in groups of eight to eleven, come down from the plateau for a day's trip, drink at night in the lakes, and disappear again for two or three days before returning once more for water. During the recent war horses from such herds have been sold, stolen, requisitioned, and so on, so that the number of horses in the Ordos region has been terribly diminished.

Among the Ordos there are many wolves and in spring the

mares and colts, which have lost weight during the long winter, are attacked during the night by ten to eighteen wolves and devoured by them unless they are protected by the stallions.<sup>1</sup>

For a very long time the Mongols have been accustomed to brand their horses. Marco Polo reports that each tribe had its particular mark. In that same way formerly in Europe, cavalry troops branded an identifying number in the horses' hoofs. History tells us also that Akbar (1542-1605), Mohammedan emperor of Hindustan, had in his army many thousands of such branded horses. Usually the Mongol owners branded their young horses on the left haunch or left hind foot with an iron branding stamp. In this way each banner had all its *tsai-ma*, reserve horses, or *tsjirik-mori*, soldiers' horses, branded. The administration of a banner put out many horses of that kind to private inhabitants who were obliged, as tax, to care for them. In time of war these horses had to be returned for war duty. If one of these horses had died, the inhabitant was obliged to provide a replacement. But if such a horse died in battle the *cosjoo*, banner, replaced it.

In this way we see these horses marked with a particular brand called *mori yn tamaya*. Often these branding stamps were rectangular, square and about 12 cm. long by 7 cm. wide (5 x 3 in.), or wider at the top than at the bottom, carrying the name of the banner.

Although every owner of horses is free to brand his horses as he wishes, we find a certain number of brands, *tamayas*, in the Ordos which are general. Many Mongols, who these days do not have their own individual horse *tamaya*, use other means for identification, for example, cutting a piece out of the horse's ear or splitting the ear with scissors,—which one sees often today and which indicates clearly that the horse so marked is a Mongol horse.

Among the *tamayas* showing Buddhist influence we have the *yonggerin tamaya*, or swastika brand; the *saysang tamaya*, or

<sup>1</sup> The strategy used by the wolves in attacking has been previously explained: J. Kler, *Hunting Customs of the Ordos Mongols*, *Primitive Man*, 1941, 14: 44-45.

trident; the *th'ong tamaya*, or seashell; the *bom tamaya*, which shows Tibetan influence. The word *bom* in Tibet means one hundred thousand (cf. *būm*, *mbén*, in Mostaert and de Smedt, *Dictionnaire Monguor-Français*, p. 150, Catholic University, Pekin). A *bom* is a compilation of the history of most of the Buddhist dignitaries.

Other stamps are: the *sart'ai tamaya* (*sāra*, moon), in the shape of a crescent; the *t'oor tamaya* or peach-shaped stamp; another which has the form of a Mongolian written character; one which is the Chinese character for *t'ien*, sky. Two stamps show European influence, namely those showing "B" and "T." The "B" comes from Balgason which was the former brand of the horses of the Mongol Catholic mission; the "T" from Tūring (Teguring), the name of a rich Mongol. There are also many other forms such as the triangle or circle. The usual *tamaya* has a diameter of about 6 to 12 cm. so that one can easily distinguish it on the left haunch of the horse.

The horses of the *cosjoo*, or banner, are usually branded every year in the Mongol New Year month, *tcayan sāra*. This branding is done during the *ts'ulgan* (tschoolgha) or assembly of princes and administrative officials at the court.

During the three or four winter months the Mongols subject their riding horses to severe treatment in order to make them more hardy. For example the geldings are tied on nice clear evenings outside to a rail where they must endure the terrible cold during the winter nights. The next day they are allowed to wander for a few hours in the morning and also for a while in the afternoon without being given anything to eat or drink. About 3:30, when the sun goes down, they are saddled and ridden hard until they are full of sweat. After a ten minute rest they are given ice-cold water to drink and then allowed to wander until bedtime when they are again tied outside as on the previous night. On the third day they are made to walk a little and then they are fed without the bridle being taken off so that they can be restrained from eating too fast. Some Mongols pour a bucket of cold water on the backs of the horses before tying them at night so that they have to stand the whole night on ice.

The Ordos Mongols have in their language many more words than the Chinese to describe the coloring of their horses. The following are some that are used (*mori* is the word for horse).

1. *xara (hara)*: black horse
2. *hormaschi xara*: black horse with white muzzle and spots
3. *sārel mori*: white horse
4. *a'ak mori*: striped horse, i.e. longitudinal spots
5. *tsjōrcher mori*: horse which has small spots
6. *tjéerte mori*: red horse
7. *kurin mori*: brown horse
8. *kére mori*: reddish-brown horse
9. *xara-kére mori*: black-reddish-brown horse
10. *olān kére mori*: completely reddish-brown
11. *hāliun mori*: yellow-white color with black tail and top of mane
12. *hongker mori*: horse with big spots on body
13. *hōla mori*: horse with color like café au lait with black tail and mane
14. *kōke mori*: greyish-white horse
15. *xara kōke*: greyish-white horse with white tail
16. *hailang kōke*: light-colored horse with black "stripes"
17. *schārga mori*: greyish-yellow horse
18. *tschāgan schārga*: white-yellowish horse
19. *hōlosōn schārga*: greyish-yellow dappled horse
20. *kāltar mori*: horse with white muzzle and tail
21. *hola kāltar mori*: horse with white muzzle, tail and mane
22. *olān kāltar*: yellowish-brown with white mane
23. *tjilban*: albinos
24. *k'udi*: with a white foot
25. *katosha'djan*: white head with grey muzzle
26. *sārt'ai mori*: horse with spot of shape of crescent on forehead
27. *seu-ing-t'i*: with four white feet.

That the horse is deeply embedded in their culture can be seen from phrases of courtesy like the following. If two Mongols meet on the grazing range either on foot or on horseback, they always use these words of greeting: *amor sayin bainu*, peace be

with you. *dschän, sayin mōrilad irebu?* have you had a good trip? Note, however, that *morilad* is a form of *morilahu*, to ride horseback. Should they be actually on horseback, they dismount, exchange their *kugur*, snuff-box, and bend their knees.

The Mongols often sing about their horses as they rapidly ride swaying in their saddles. The following are some examples of their songs.

*Altain hanggai kārbin sjili, narighan lā saihaṅ, naṁan la schārga:*

The Altai hanggai mountains, and the Kurbin hills, the eight horses of creamy color.

*Etjin boktayin hoyor tschāgal, бага tschāgal baṁta soy:*

The two *tschagal* horses of Emperor Dschingis, the big *tschagal*, and the small *tschagal*, coming back from a trip want to go home.

The following is a longer song in which the owner complains of the loss of a beautiful horse. It is called *mino mori*, my horse.

1. *Bayantshi xanggaṁ arotu*  
*Onāgalaksan tshi mori lā min,*  
*Bataragolto tun tshirik to*  
*Key raktāksan tsi mori lā min,*
2. *Uile metu sayin ōnggeto*  
*Uile tshi tatan kwiehu tén*  
*Undur kōke tshi mori lā min,*  
*Ele haysjigan itschibei tu?*
3. *Peiking ttei gektschi zota tu*  
*Pētethi saichan tshi zota bān*  
*Peten tshi mōnggun tsingnēme*  
*Tharāłtsiga etwi mori lā min*
4. *Nanking tei gektshe zota tu*  
*Narighan saichan tshi zota bān*  
*Nayan tshi tabun lang tongnemé*  
*Tharāłtsjigha etwi mori lā min.*

5. *Alima yn tetwi nitüthi*  
*Ayaga yn tetwi thoräthi*  
*Alta telim undur pēje thi*  
*Yaiyotha saichan mori lä min.*
6. *Tshino an hoyor tschikhthethi*  
*Tsölmono hoyor nitüthi*  
*Uile metu sain önggethi*  
*Utes xolentho mori lä min.*
7. *Thala tu talta gätjar tu*  
*Thalbitu baichui ultebu?*  
*Totora mö tho xolagayia,*  
*Abogat korroi utelbeo?*
8. *Utjksen tsho kumon tu*  
*Unigen kürme i eüxhu to*  
*Bariksan tsho kumon tu*  
*Pär un tshi kürme i schangnaya to.*
9. *Uile metu sayin önggeto,*  
*Uile tshi tatan kwiehu tén*  
*Undur köke tshi mori lä min,*  
*Ele haysjigan itschibei tu?*

1. My horse was born behind the rich hill *Bayantsi Xanggain* and the soldiers of the Emperor have looked at it with admiring eyes.
2. Its hide was beautiful like the clouds in their sight. When it ran it left a cloud of dust in the air. It was tall of form, blue of color. Where can my horse have disappeared?
3. In the capital Peking, the beautiful city painted in many colors, they wanted to give me pure silver for my horse, but I didn't sell it.
4. In the city of Nanking they wanted to give me 85 ounces of silver for my horse, but I didn't sell it.
5. Its eyes were large as an apple; its hooves were large like a cup; it was five feet high. Oh, how beautiful was my horse—yes!
6. Its ears were like those of a wolf and its two eyes glittered

like the morning star; it had the color of the clouds. Oh, how gorgeous was my horse.

7. Haven't you seen it grazing in a hidden corner of the plain?  
Haven't you seen it stolen by robbers with a wicked heart?
8. To anybody who would bring it back I would give a coat lined with fox-fur; to anybody who can bring it back I would give a tiger skin.



Fig. 1. Mongol saddle.

9. Its hide was beautiful like the clouds in their sight. When it ran it left a cloud of dust in the air. It was tall of form, blue of color. Where can my horse have disappeared?

Since the Mongols love their horses so much they always care well for the harness, headgear, bridles, saddle, and saddle blankets (fig. 1). On particular occasions, say during the New Year's Moon and at weddings, the horses are decorated with red, yellow

or green silk ribbons on mane, tail and head. On the horse's forehead the Mongols usually put a nicely embroidered silk band which has been worked by the women in colorful flowers (fig. 2).

The young geldings or riding colts are trained during the spring from the third to the fifth year so as to be suitable as women's horses (fig. 3). In the sand dunes they are ridden for weeks and



Fig. 2. An Ordos Mongol, of the Otok banner, with his horse. Note embroidered band on horse's forehead.

weeks until they are tame. Of course it takes a lot of trouble to train such young strong horses. In the spring of 1946 I saw such beautifully gaited horses sold for from thirty thousand to sixty thousand dollars apiece. The Mongols use the term *tsjaidam mori*, plains horse, for the type which is not saddled but is covered with a saddle blanket and is always kept in readiness to drive sheep, cows, or camels to the well.



The Mongols are fond not only of their horses but also of their other domestic animals,—cows, sheep, camels, dogs,—the last often having names like *asrsalang*, lion, *bārang*, and so forth. I have often seen housewives, after milking, stroke the cows and kiss them on the forehead when they have given much milk.

Anyone who has read much about the Mongols knows how



Fig. 3. Ordos Mongol mother and children.

free they are in sexual relations. They have few children and venereal diseases lead to a decrease in the population. I remember an order of an Ordos banner commander who declared all marriage contracts invalid saying: "We Mongols live all the time in the company of livestock and I order that all men and women should be as free in their sexual behavior as the animals" (cf. *Annalen der mission van Sparrendael*, 1936, 6: 181).

Since horses are the most cherished thing of the nomads, the Ordos Mongols severely punish horse thieves, who are usually

Chinese "outsiders." If one catches them, the muscles above the heel on both legs are cut and then the thief is left to starve or to die of thirst in the burning sun. When Emperor Kanghi in 1697 traveled through the Ordos he remarked how peaceful this region was and wrote to his son in Peking that there were few thieves in this region and that one could on this trip leave everything outside at night without fear of its being stolen.

As one might expect, the most prized present was a good-looking horse. For example, when in the beginning of the seventeenth century the Kalchas and the Elöthen made their submission to the Emperor near *Dolon-noor*, each Mongol Khan gave to Khangī eight white horses and one white camel, which the Mongols call *yssun tcagān*, the nine white ones, and which the Chinese call *kiou pei*. As Marco Polo reports, it was then customary in old times that with the death of a Mongol the riding horse with saddle and harness was sacrificed at the grave and buried with the man. I can confirm that. In all my excavations or in surface finds in the tombs in the desert which have been uncovered by the wind eroding the soil, I have found bronze horse harness, pieces of saddles, bridles, "tips" (*Spitzen*) of bows, bones of horses. Today among the Ordos the old habit persists. When a man dies the horse is given to the lama or, if the man had been converted to Christianity, to the priest to have Masses said for the price of the horse.

When a family is in mourning after the death of parents it is forbidden to gallop on a horse.

If several Ordos Mongols sit down together either on the grass of the plains or at home they start telling tales. At such a time one will hear an incredible number of legends about extraordinarily fast horses, beautiful horses, or brown geldings killed in battle. So it can be understood that with them, just as with the old northern Finlanders or Altai tribes, the sacrifice of horses has been practiced from old times up to the present, as we still see done every year among the tribe of Wang of the Ordos Mongols at the place called *Etjin-horo* where, they maintain, the bones of Gīnghiskhan are preserved.

In their proverbs and sayings frequent reference is made to the horse. For example, to repudiate a young wife a Mongol says: To throw her over the head of the horse (the bride usually is led to her fiancé sitting veiled on a horse). To express his low appraisal of women's secret-keeping, the Mongol man says: In the head of a female there is barely room for a saddle, while in the head of a man, a rider with horse and weapons can hide.

## SOUNDS IN ILOKO<sup>1</sup>

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ILOKO, which is the most important language of the northern part of Luzon, the largest island in the Philippine Archipelago, has this in common with most other languages that it has a whole series of words and verbal forms, many of them onomatopoeic, to characterize the sounds produced by different objects.

We believe that the following list, although it is far from being exhaustive, will prove interesting to the scholar and linguist, either for comparison with other languages and dialects, or for a better understanding of the Iloko's discrimination of sounds and of the means he uses to express them.

Before starting with our enumeration, we shall first say a word about a few forms which are used almost exclusively to form verbs that indicate sounds:

1. The infix *an*, when joined to a word consisting of a stem and of one of the following particles: the prefix *ag*, the prefix *agka*, the infix *um*. It draws the accent toward itself.

Ex.: stem *bitóg*:

*agbanítog*: the dull sound produced by somebody treading heavily on the floor, or by a heavy object falling down,—for instance, a coconut falling from its tree;

*agkabanítog*: the same sound produced several times at regular intervals;

*bumanítog*: the same sound produced several times in quick succession.

2. The elimination of the first vowel of the stem, and the re-

<sup>1</sup> The publication of linguistic papers has not been within the policy of *Primitive Man*. The present paper, however, has obvious implications beyond the field of technical linguistics.—EDITOR.

duplication of both the last vowel and the initial consonant (with insertion of the vowel a). The prefixes are *ag*, *agka* or *ma*.

Ex.: stem *bitóg*:

*agbabtóog*: cf. *agbanítog*;

*agkababtóog*: cf. *agkabanítog*;

*mababtóog*: the same as *agbabtóog* with this difference that the prefix *ma* is passive (a sound is produced), while the prefix *ag* is active (it produces a sound).

3. The same as the preceding except for the change into *n* of the initial consonant of the metamorphosed stem. The prefixes are *agka* or *ma*. Here the infix *an* is again distinctly apparent: *agk(an)a*, *m(an)a*.

Ex.: stem *bitóg*:

*agkanabtóog*: cf. *agkababtóog*;

*manabtóog*: cf. *mababtóog*.

4. The reduplication of the last vowel with occasional reduplication of the central consonant. Prefix *ag* or infix *um*.

Ex.: stem *liták*:

*lumtáak*: the sound produced by bamboo drying in the sun and splitting. *Lumták* means "the splitting of bamboo."

*aglittáak*: cf. *lumtáak*.

It should be noted that, whenever two or three words are identical except for their vowels, the vowel *i* represents a shrill sound, the vowel *a* a regular one, and the vowel *o* a dull sound. An-thropos alphabet: *i* (with stroke under), *a*, *o*.

In the following list prefixes, infixes, suffixes, additions to the stem and reduplications of the stem or of any of its parts are enclosed in parentheses.

#### I. SOUNDS PRODUCED BY MAN

(*agan*)*abáab*: the sound, the echo (of speech), when not heard distinctly.

(*ag*)*ágal*: to moan, to shriek; for instance, when ill, when complaining, when caught by somebody, when whipped, etc.

(*ag*)*ananáy*: to moan, to utter (low) cries of pain.

(*ag*)*annáy*: cf. *agananáy*.

(*ag*)*ápa*: to dispute.

- (ag)areñg-éñg: a dull sound made with closed mouth (when something painful is felt, etc.), resembling the lowing of cows.
- (ag)ariwáwa: the confused and loud speech of several people, for instance, at a dinner party, especially when some of them are the worse for liquor.
- (ag)ásug: to moan, to sigh.
- (ag)ayek-ék: to laugh audibly, not very loudly.
- (ag)baén: to sneeze.
- (na)báñgag: low (pitch). Cf. (na)siñggít.
- (ag)bañg-és: the noise made in the nose when pushing outward the air, the nasal mucus, etc.
- (ag)b(an)awbáw: to talk loudly.
- (ag)bugták: to scold, to talk rudely or clamorously.
- (ag)daneñgdéñg: cf. agdayamúdum.
- (ag)dániw: to sing.
- (ag)dayamúdum: to mumble, to mutter (praying, expressing anger, etc.).
- (ag)dayeñgdéñg: cf. agdayamúdum.
- (ag)dir-i: to shout, to shriek, etc.
- (ag)doñg-áw: to sing a dirge, to lament, to wail.
- (ag)duayyá: to sing a lullaby, a cradle song.
- (ag)eddék: to moan (when evacuating the bowels).
- (ag)garakgák: to laugh loudly (horselaugh).
- (ag)íbit: to whimper (the weeping of children).
- (ag)ikkís: to shout, to shriek, to scream.
- (ag)íri: the same as agikkís, but shriller.
- k(um)aremkém: cf. agkarat-óm.
- (ag)karat-óm: to crunch (when eating maize, unripe guavas, etc.).
- (ag)kilát: the cry of the fisherman:  
kilát, kilát,  
punnoém tí pagikkák (fill my net).
- (ag)kirít: the word kirít (all hid) uttered by children who have found a hiding place, when playing at hide and seek.
- (ag)korkór: to call chickens (krrrrrr).

(ag)korórot: the word *korórot* uttered by hidden children in order to tease their partners, when playing at hide and seek. The same word is used also by persons who, after having hidden their face behind a cloth, etc., suddenly uncover it, to make children laugh.

(ag)kotáto: to call dogs (*kóta . . . to . . . to*).

(ag)láaw: to bawl, to vociferate; also: the cry of the hornbill.

(ag)lalláy: cf. (ag)tarilalláy.

l(um)dó(o)k: the sound produced when swallowing something.

ñg(um)arasñgás: to crunch (when eating raw camotes, turnips, and the like).

(ag)ñgaretñgét: to gnash (the teeth).

(ag)ñgariét: cf. agñgaretñgét.

ñg(um)emñgém: to mutter, to murmur (when annoyed).

(ag)onnóy: to sigh, to moan.

(ag)pañgrés: to blow the nose.

p(um)gá(a)k: cf. (ag)garakgák.

(ag)pogtít: a short hissing sound produced by the tongue, for instance, when one wants to despise somebody.

(maka)puglít: the sound produced when a very small evacuation of the bowels takes place.

(ag)pukkáw: to shout (calling people).

(ag)rárek: the rhonchus, the rale.

(ag)riáw: to cry out, to clamor (scolding).

(ag)ríri: the noise made by people when disputing, by children when continually asking for things crying and whimpering.

(ag)sagawisiw: to whistle a tune.

(ag)sagkák: to clear one's throat (prolonged sound).

(ag)saibbék: to sob.

(ag)saiddék: to hiccup.

(ag)sainnék: cf. agsaibbék.

(ag)sakuntáp: to smack; also, the noise made by hogs when eating.

(ag)sakuntíp: a smacking sound resembling the preceding, but much slighter; it is made by pressing the lips against

the teeth slightly lifting up the upper lip (when worried or annoyed at something, when scolding, when inciting a horse, etc.).

(ag)samtík: a small sound resembling a click, but produced in the throat with closed mouth (when angry or annoyed).

(ag)saó: to speak, to talk.

(ag)say-á: to clear one's throat (short sound); also, when wanting to attract somebody's attention.

(na)siñggít: high (pitch). Cf. (na)báñgag.

(ag)siñg-í: short soblike sounds of a child seeking the breast.

(ag)s(an)iñg-í: continuous soblike sounds of a child insisting on getting something.

(ag)siñglót: the noise made in the nose when sucking up the nasal mucus.

(agpa)sitsít: to incite a dog to follow a trace, to attack people, etc.

(ag)sultíp: to whistle (with or without instrument).

(ag)suyáab: to yawn.

(ag)taklá: to produce a click (pressing the tongue against the palate).

(ag)tanabútob: to mumble, to mutter (indicating discontent).

(ag)tañggúyob: to blow a horn made of the horn of a carabao.

(ag)tarabútob: cf. agtanabútob.

(ag)tarilalláy: to sing (without words, only *la, la, la*, and so on).

(ag)tig-áb: to eructate.

(na)tiñggáw: clear, sonorous (voice).

(ag)tirittittít: to sing (without words, only *tirittittít*, and so on).

(ag)ug-úg: when weeping with closed mouth, the sound going up and down.

(pagpag)úni: any instrument that is blown, especially a small strip of young bamboo placed in the mouth in order to produce a shrill sound.

(ag)úñgor: to moan with closed mouth (when hurt or dying).

(ag)uriág: to shriek, to shout (when scolding, etc.).

urisáy(an): to call hogs.

(ag)urók: to snore (sleeping).

(ag)uyék: to cough.



## II. SOUNDS PRODUCED BY ANIMALS

## 1. CHICKENS

- (ag)arakiák: the same as *agkoták*, but done by several hens (and roosters) together.  
(ag)kákak: the uniform cry of the hen, when restless, when looking for a nest, etc.  
*k(um)ekkék*: the cry of a hen calling her chicks; also, the sound of a broken bell, etc.  
(ag)kiák: the shrill cry of a chicken, for instance, when caught by men.  
(ag)kokkók: to cluck.  
(ag)koták: to cackle (the cry of a hen after having laid an egg, etc.).  
(agpi)piek: the cry of the chick.  
(ag)taráok: to crow (the cry of the rooster).  
(ag)tarekték: the cry of the rooster calling his hens, of the hen calling her chicks.

## 2. DOGS

- (ag)aṅgaṅgék: to whine (the cry of pups).  
(ag)ṅgerṅgér: to gnarl.  
(ag>tagúub: to howl.  
(ag)taúl: to bark, to bay.

## 3. HOGS

- (ag)gokgók: the short cry of the hog when walking or when lying down and being touched by somebody.  
(ag)rogárog: to grunt (the ordinary cry of the hog when walking).  
(ag)uṅgík: the shrill cry of a pig, for instance, when caught by men.  
(ag)uriris: the cry of the hungry hog or of a sow's litter following their mother.

## 4. OTHER ANIMALS

- (ag)emmák: to bleat (sheep); also, the short cry of the cow.  
(ag)gakgák: to croak (frogs); also, the sound of a broken bell.

- (ag)garaigí: to neigh (horses); to bleat (goats).  
 (ag)garikgik: cf. *aggaraigí*.  
 (ag)it-it: the cry of snakes, rats, etc.  
 (ag)kakkák: to croak (frogs).  
 (ag)kikkík: the cry of the *gikgík*, a kind of bird.  
 (ag)láaw: the cry of the hornbill; also, the bawling of man.  
 (ag)ñgiáw: to mew (cats).  
 (ag)ñgoák: the cry of the carabao or water buffalo.  
 (ag)okík: the cry of the fruit bat or flying fox.  
 (ag)riári: the cry of the cricket.  
 (ag)salaksák: the cry of the kingfisher.  
 (ag)sayeñgséñg: the buzzing sound of mosquitoes, bees, etc.  
 (ag)tekték: the cry of the common house lizard.  
 (ag)torokotók: to coo (pigeons).  
 t(uman)ottót: the cry of rats; also, the sound of continuous talking.  
 (ag)úga: to low (cows); also, the cry of the deer.

### III. VARIOUS SOUNDS

- allínga or allíngag: echo, resonance.  
 arimbáñgaw: the noise made by many people, animals, etc., when gathered in one place.  
 (ag)arisiés: the bickering sound of locusts, crabs, June bugs, etc., in a basket, a box, etc.  
 (um)arubóob: a violent gust of wind.  
 áweñg: resonance.  
 (ag)b(an)arbár: the sound of broken bells, etc.  
 (ag)bariweñgwéñg: the sound of a lath, a stone, attached to a rope, etc., moved rapidly to and fro, etc.  
 (ag)barokbók: the bubbling sound of a bamboo joint when dipped into the water.  
 (mai)battóg: the sound of something falling from a high place.  
 b(um)ayakábak: the sound of heavy rain, of water being thrown out of a basin, etc.  
 (ag)b(an)egbég: the sound of the pestle in the mortar.  
 b(uman)erbér: the sound of a swollen river, a strong wind.  
 Agberbér: to expose oneself to the wind.

*b(uman)esbés*: the sound of people passing rapidly along, running, etc.

*(ag)b(an)etbét*: the sound produced when whipping somebody.

*(agkaba)btó(o)g*: the sound of a heavy object falling on the ground, etc.

*(ag)b(an)ogbóg*: the sound of the drum, of shoes against the floor, etc.

*b(uman)orbór*: the sound of a swollen river, a strong wind.

*(ag)dalagúdug*: the sound of people, animals, etc., running.

*(agdapak)dapák*: cf. *(agpadak)padák*.

*(ag)daranúdor*: the rumbling sound of a strong wind, of the waves, etc.

*(ag)dissóor*: the sound of water falling, waves breaking, etc.

*(ag)dollóog*: cf. *(ag)gorróod*.

*(ag)gakgák*: the sound of a broken bell; also, the croaking of frogs.

*(ag)g(an)akgák*: the sound of a broken bell.

*(ag)galañgógoñg*: the sound produced by something falling into a deep place, by a big tree falling down, etc.

*(ag)gansá*: to beat a gong, etc.

*(ag)garadugód*: a gurgling sound produced in the abdomen.

*(ag)garañgógoñg*: cf. *aggalañgógoñg*.

*(ag)gitól*: the sound of an object moving in an earthen jar. Cf. *(agkana)klóoñg*.

*g(um)lóoñg*: to resound. Cf. *áweñg*.

*(ag)gorróod*: thunder.

*(ag)kabbót*: the puffing sound of boiling sugar, etc.

*(ag)kalañgíkiñg*: the jingling sound of arms, coins, etc.

*(ag)kalañgókoñg*: the sound of a coconut shell in an earthen jar.

*(ag)kalatokót*: the cracking sound of the knee joint.

*kalíñgag*: cf. *allíñga*.

*(ag)kalíñgíkiñg*: cf. *agkalañgíkiñg*.

*(ag)karadákad*: the sound produced when walking among reeds, the sound of a cart running over gravel, etc.

*(ag)karadókud*: the rumbling sound of a cart, an auto passing at some distance.

- (ag)karasákas: the rustling of leaves agitated by the wind, of the cotton saya of women.
- (ag)karasíkis: the sound of a cluster of bamboos, for instance, when an iguana passes through.
- (ag)karatákat: cf. *agkaradákad*; also, the sound of coins in a wooden box.
- (ag)karatíkit: the jingling sound of coins, etc.
- (ag)karotíkit: cf. *agkaratíkit*.
- (ag)kayabkáab: the sound produced by chickens when flying or flapping their wings.
- k(um)ekkéék: the sound of a broken bell; also, the cry of the hen when calling her chicks.
- (agkana)klá(a)ñg: the sound of an object moving in a tin or can.
- (ag)kilñg: the sound of small bells.
- (agkana)klí(i)ñg: the jingling sound of glasses.
- (agkana)kló(o)ñg: the sound of an object moving in an earthen jar.
- (ag)kirás: the sound of slippers when walking.
- (ag)kisaw: cf. *(ag)garadugód* and *(ag)tertér*; this term refers more especially to the feeling which accompanies these sounds.
- (agkana)ktí(i)l: the sound of gravel falling down a slope or being thrown on the ground.
- (ag)kitól: cf. *agkanaktóol*.
- (agkana)któ(o)l: the sound of shoes (without rubber heels) on the floor.
- (ag)k(an)okkók: the sound produced when striking something hollow.
- (ag)kuteñgtéñg: the sound of the guitar.
- (mana)lpá(a)k: the sound of spittle falling down, of a slap with the hand, etc.
- (agkana)lpí(i)t: the sound produced by the flat hand lightly striking an object, by the slipper against the heel, etc.
- (agkana)lpó(o)t: the repeated sound of breaking wind.
- (mana)lsi(i)t: the report of a gun, etc.
- (agpa)lsó(o)t: the sound of an air gun.

- l(um)tá(a)k*: the sound of fruits bursting, bamboo drying in the sun, etc.
- (agkana)ltá(a)k*: the sound of rain on an iron roof.
- (agkana)ltí(i)k*: cf. *(agkana)ktíul*.
- (ag)lítóg, l(um)tóg, l(uman)ítog, (mana)ltó(o)g, (agkana)-ltó(o)g*: the sound of burning bamboos (resembling the report of a gun.)
- (agpa)ltóg, l(um)tó(o)g*: the report of a gun.
- (ag)litók*: the cracking sound of the knee joint.
- (agkana)ltó(o)k*: the report of guns, the report of burning bamboos.
- (agpadak)padák*: the sound of horses, etc., passing along.
- (ag)p(an)akpák*: the sound of the wooden club used in washing.
- (ag)pakúpak*: the sound of iron knocked against wood.
- (ag)palakapák*: the sound of a cart without springs.
- (ag)paratipít*: a shriller sound than *agparatopót*.
- (ag)paratopót*: the sound produced by the evacuation of the bowels when having diarrhea.
- (ag)patík*: the sound of the slipper against the heel. Cf. *(agkana)lpút*.
- (ag)pátit*: to ring (bells).
- (ag)payakpák*: the sound produced by the wings of flying birds, of a cock that is going to crow, etc.
- p(uman)ekpék*: the sound of wood when beaten.
- (agpisaw)pisáw*: the splashing sound produced when passing a river, a brook, etc.
- (ag)potpót*: the sound of the horn of an auto, etc.
- (ag)ragotók*: the sound of burning reeds, etc.
- (ag)rekrék*: the sound of cooking rice when the water is evaporated; also, the sound produced in the nose when sucking up the nasal mucus.
- (ag)retrét*: the sound of the spinning wheel.
- (ag)r(an)etrét*: the grating sound of a door, shaking bamboo, etc.
- (ag)rikáb*: the grating sound of a large door being opened with force; also, the movement of the breast when startled, running, etc.
- (ag)rikét*: the sound of a moving table, cracking, thumping, etc.

- (ag)ripák, r(uman)ipak, (mana)rpá(a)k, (agkara)rpá(a)k,  
(agkana)rpá(a)k: the sound of a door slamming, a plate  
breaking, etc.
- (agpa)risís: the sound of fluttering June bugs when taking hold  
of their outer wings.
- r(um)sík: the cracking sound of a glass, etc., when breaking.
- (ag)ritrit: the sound of paper being torn.
- (ag)ritti(i)k: the sound of beans exposed to the sun, of wood  
crackling in the fire, etc.
- (ag)rittó(o)k: the crackling sound of the joints of the fingers.
- (ag)rottó(o)k: cf. *agrittóok*.
- s(um)aretsét: the hissing sound of frying lard.
- (ag)s(an)ersér: the sound of an ascending kite.
- s(uman)etsét: the sound of the whip, of frying lard, etc.
- (makasi)sileñg: what annoys the ear through its strong sound  
(drums, bells, etc.).
- (ag)sipát: to clap, to slap, etc.
- (ag)tarakátak: the sound of heavy rain, of water falling from  
the eaves, etc.
- (ag)tarakítik: the sound of drizzling rain.
- (ag)tarupék: the sound of several people knocking, working with  
various instruments, etc.
- (ag)t(an)attát: the sound of continuous talking.
- (ag)tertér: a sound produced in the bowels, not the gurgling  
sound. Cf. (ag)garadugód.
- (ag)tiktik: the slight sound of the ax, the adz, etc.
- (ag)tímek: to sound (voice, bell, etc.).
- (ag)tīñgtīng: the sound of a small bell.
- t(um)pá(a)k: the sound of soft objects falling, of raindrops  
spreading open, etc.
- (ag)togtóg: to knock (on a door, etc.).
- (ag)toktók: the sound produced by knocking on something hard  
with a stone, etc.
- t(uman)ottót: the sound of continuous talking; also, the cry of  
rats.
- tururút: the sound of the cornet.
- turutút: cf. *tururút*.

(ag)úni: to sound, to utter a sound, to make a noise, etc. (general term).

(ag)weñguéñg: a buzzing sound produced in the ear.

(ag)w(an)erwér: the sound of the sewing machine, etc.

w(uman)eswés: the whirring sound of bats flying around, of people passing along running, etc.

(ag)yubúyub: the sound of the bellows.

y(um)ubyúb: the sound of a strong fire, trees moved by the wind, bees, etc.

#### IV. A FEW ACTIONS ORDINARILY ACCOMPANIED BY SOUNDS

(ag)bakuár: cf. (ag)saruá.

b(um)ták: to burst.

(ag)dol-ók: to retch.

(ag)garugád: to file.

(ag)káras: to draw water and throw it out (from a boat, etc., with a shell, etc.).

(ag)karasókos: to slide down a slope.

(ag)kárus: to scrape a surface.

(ag)katáva: to laugh.

(ag)kirús: to scrape the inside of a recipient.

(ag)kolíli: to make fire by sawing. Cf. *agkor-ít* and *agpíngki*.

(ag)kor-ít: to strike fire with a match. Cf. *agkolíli* and *agpíngki*.

k(um)otókot: to bore with the finger in the ground, etc.

ñgesñges(én): to breathe through the nose.

(ag)pampág: to beat a mat, the hand, the foot, etc., against something.

(ag)parokpók: the movement of rapids in a stream. Cf. *agsaraísí*.

(ag)píngki: to strike fire with flint and steel. Cf. *agkolíli* and *agkor-ít*.

(ag)pisáw: the spattering of rain, water, etc.

(ag)pugsít: to spurt out, to gush out.

(ag)puxísit: cf. *agpugsít*.

(ag)sáñgit: to weep, to cry.

(ag)saraísí: the movement of ripples in a stream. Cf. *agparok-pók*.

(ag)sarokikkík: to trip, to stumble (like children learning how to walk).

(ag)sarud: to vomit.

(ag)sippárud: to catch another person's foot.

(ag)tabátab: to trim the brim of a hollow recipient.

(ag)tabbúga: to stamp with the feet.

(ag)tarokaték: to trip, to move with light quick steps.

timitím(an): to remove the edge of a board, a saya, etc., the hair of the neck.

(ag)timpág: cf. agpampág.

(ag)tobtób: to break down a stone wall.

(ag)vagsák: to shake heavily a cloth, etc., holding it by two corners, one in each hand.

(ag)wagwág: to shake a person, a screen, etc.







